

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 105256

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22 APR 78 QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE 3183

DEPT PASS TO NON-ALIGNED COLLECTIVE ADDRESSEES AS  
APPROPRIATE

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PORG YO  
SUBJECT: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS - NON-ALIGNED COORDINATING  
COMMITTEE FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING - KABUL

REF: STATE 097545

SUMMARY: IN COURSE OF LENGTHY CONVERSATION FSFA ASSTSEC  
(MULTI-LATERAL AFFAIRS) KOMATINA TOLD AMB THAT: GOY  
BELIEVES PANAMA CANAL AND GUAM ARE UNLIKELY TO GENERATE  
CENSORIOUS RESOLUTIONS AT THE NAM MTGS; EGYPT WILL NOT BE  
CONDEMNED FOR ITS ME INITIATIVE, NOR CUBA FOR ITS INTERVENTION  
IN THE OGADEN; ERITREA IS A MORE COMPLEX MATTER WHERE  
RADICAL AND CONSERVATIVE ARAB STATES FIND COMMON GROUND  
IN OPPOSING CUBAN/SOVIET INVOLVEMENT; NAM WILL AGAIN ADOPT  
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RESOLUTIONS CONDEMNING ISRAEL; AFRICAN STATES ARE PREPARED TO  
NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA; BUT NAM AS A  
WHOLE IS DEPRESSED OVER FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS  
TOWARD NIEO AND STAGNATION OF DETENTE. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING APRIL 20 SESSION TO REVIEW UPCOMING KABUL AND  
BELGRADE NA MEETINGS, ASST FONSEC KOMATINA MADE THE  
FOLLOWING POINTS TO THE AMBASSADOR:

2. PANAMA CANAL - KOMATINA IMMEDIATELY CONGRATULATED US

ON RATIFICATION OF TREATIES. HE WAS ESPECIALLY LAUDATORY OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT AS A WAY OF SOLVING THE ISSUE POSED BY THE DECONCINI RESERVATION, NOTING THAT THIS LATTER TYPE OF RESERVATION - WHICH HE TERMED A REVERSION TO GUNBOAT DIPLOMACY - SIGNIFICANTLY HARMS THE US IMAGE. HE DOES NOT EXPECT THE NAM TO CONCERN ITSELF WITH PANAMA UNLESS PANAMA IS DISSATISFIED AND WISHES TO RAISE THE CANAL ISSUE. THE GOY IS AT PRESENT INSTRUCTING ITS AMBASSADOR IN PANAMA TO ASCERTAIN THE GOP'S VIEWS. WERE THE CUBANS TO BRING THE MATTER UP ON THEIR OWN, THEY WOULD FIND LITTLE SUPPORT.

3. GUAM - WITH EXCEPTION OF INDIA AND VIETNAM, MOST NAM COUNTRIES ARE DISINTERESTED. KOMATINA NOTED THAT INDIA TOOK A GREAT INTEREST IN THE MATTER - TO THE ADVANTAGE OF THE US - WHICH HE FOUND CURIOUS.

4. HUMAN RIGHTS - WILL PROBABLY NOT BE DISCUSSED AT KABUL, THOUGH IT WILL BE MENTIONED. GOY WILL PREPARE PAPER ON THE SUBJECT FOR BELGRADE CONFERENCE. THE PROBLEM EXISTS AND MUST NOT BE AVOIDED. YUGOSLAV APPROACH IS AS OUTLINED IN THE TITO-RESTON INTERVIEW; HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE TAKEN AS A CONFIDENTIAL

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COMPLEX OF FACTORS INCLUDING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL RIGHTS. THIS INVOLVES, AS WELL, "THE RIGHT AGAINST FOREIGN INTERVENTION." THE GOY WILL URGE "SOMETHING SUBSTANTIAL" ON INTERVENTION, TO PUT THE ISSUE IN THE FOREGROUND AND GIVE IMPETUS TO THE UN IN DEALING WITH THIS PROBLEM. KOMATINA ADDED THAT HE PERSONALLY WOULD LIKE TO SEE A SPECIAL DOCUMENT TO GUARANTEE AGAINST INTERVENTION BY LARGE OR SMALL POWERS.

5. STATE OF NAM - NAM IS "DEMORALIZED" AT PRESENT, NOT ONLY BY CONFLICTS BETWEEN MEMBERS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, HORN OF AFRICA, AND WESTERN SAHARA, BUT ALSO BY A LACK OF PROGRESS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS TOWARD A NIEO AND THE DECELERATION OF DETENTE. "MANY" NO LONGER BELIEVE IN THE USEFULNESS OF NEGOTIATIONS, PARTICULARLY ON THE NIEO. THE PROBLEM FACING BOTH THE NAM AND THE DEVELOPED NATIONS IS HOW TO BRING THE NEGOTIATIONS BACK ON TRACK. THERE IS A CAUSAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DETENTE AND EVENTS AROUND THE WORLD. "MANY" ARE AFRAID OF DEVELOPMENTS WHICH COULD NEUTRALIZE WHATEVER IMPROVEMENT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN CONSTRUCTIVE GLOBAL INVOLVEMENTS IN WORLD AFFAIRS. YUGOSLAV FONSEC MINIC IS ATTENDING THE UN SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA IN LARGE PART TO SPEAK TO AS MANY NA FOREIGN MINISTERS AS POSSIBLE ON NA PROBLEMS.

6. MIDDLE EAST - ARAB UNITY HAS NEVER BEEN IN WORSE SHAPE. THIS IS TRUE NOT ONLY WITH REFERENCE TO WHAT CAN BE DONE TO BRING ABOUT A SOLUTION, BUT ALSO ON WHAT THE SOLUTION

SHOULD BE. THE "REJECTIONISTS" DO NOT HAVE AN ALTERNATIVE TO OFFER. SADAT'S INITIATIVE, UNLESS HE INTENDS A SEPARATE PEACE ("WHICH WOULD BE A DISASTER"), HAS NO CHANCE OF SUCCEEDING WHILE BEGIN IS PRIME MINISTER. THE NAM FINDS ITSELF IN A DILEMMA. EARLIER IN LIMA, FOR EXAMPLE, RADICAL ARABS WERE TOLD THAT PURSUIT OF THEIR POSITIONS WOULD PARALYZE THE NAM ON A MARGINAL ISSUE AND HAMPER NEGOTIATIONS. OTHER NAM COUNTRIES TOLD THEM TO HAVE PATIENCE AND THAT THE NAM

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WOULD DEAL WITH THIS IN DUE TIME. NOW, WITH BEGIN SAYING "NOT THIS, NOT THAT" HOW CAN IT WAIT? THERE IS INTRANSIGENCE ON BOTH SIDES WITH EGYPT AND USG IN THE MIDDLE. HOWEVER, NOBODY BELIEVES THAT THE US CANNOT SUCCEED IN ACHIEVING A SOLUTION IF IT SO WISHES-- NOT BY FORCE, BUT "PERHAPS BY BEING LESS DIPLOMATIC IN ITS DIPLOMACY". GOY DOES NOT BELIEVE THE INTER-ARAB DISPUTE WILL GO SO FAR AS TO PRODUCE NAM RESOLUTIONS HARMFUL TO THE POSSIBILITIES FOR A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN THE ME. THE EGYPTIANS ARE NOW TAKING THE KABUL MEETING SERIOUSLY. GOY HAS ENCOURAGED THE JORDANIANS TO SEND A HIGH LEVEL DELEGATION, BECAUSE IT DOESN'T WANT ONLY REJECTIONISTS TO BE PRESENT. THE GOY WILL NOT FAVOR ANY STAND ON THE SADAT INITIATIVE, NOR WILL AFGHANISTAN, INDIA, OR GUYANA. 5#343 LITTLE CHANCE FOR CONDEMNATION OF EGYPT SINCE THERE IS ALMOST SURELY NO CONSENSUS ON THIS MATTER. NAM USUALLY AGREES WITH THE RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED REGIONALLY, BUT SUDAN WILL NOT AGREE TO A CONDEMNATION AND GOY HAS CONVINCED THE IRAQIS THAT IT IS BETTER NOT TO DISCUSS ARAB PROBLEMS IN PUBLIC CONFERENCES. AN ACCEPTABLE RESOLUTION WILL STICK TO A FEW PRARAPGRAPHS CRITICIZING ISRAEL WITH SOMETHING ON LEBANON A CERTAINTY.

7. HORN OF AFRICA - ERITREA BOTHERS MANY CONSCIENCES WHETHER ONE BELIEVES IN ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER. ONE MUST BEAR IN MIND THE AGONY OF A PEOPLE WHO ONCE HAD A STATUS WHICH SUBSEQUENTLY WAS LOST AND WHO NOW SEEK INDEPENDENCE. THE ARABS, HOWEVER, SEE THE ISSUE OF ERITREA AS SOLVABLE ONLY BY SECESSION. IN THE OGADEN, SOMALIA STILL INSISTS ON THE PROVISIONAL NATURE OF THE BORDER. THIS GIVES THE CUBANS A LEGAL STATUS WHICH WOULD DISAPPEAR IF THEY PARTICIPATED MILITARILY IN ERITREA. PERSONALLY, KOMATINA ADDED, HE THINKS THEY WILL - AT LEAST TO THE EXTENT OF PROVIDING

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SUPPORT IN THE WAR ZONES. THE PROBLEM ON THE HORN WILL NOTE BE PASSED OVER AT KABUL. THERE IS A WIDE VARIETY OF COUNTRIES ON THE NACC, BOTH AFRICAN AND ARAB. ETHIOPIA AND SOMALIA - WHO ARE NOT MEMBERS - WILL COME. ETHIOPIA WILL COMPLAIN ABOUT ARAB INTERVENTION. KENYA WILL SUPPORT THEM.

TANZANIA WILL DESIRE TO AVOID DIVERTING ATTENTION FROM THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA. IT WILL BE INTERESTING ANY IMPORTANT TO SEE WHAT THE ISLAMIC COUNCIL SAYS, WHERE THE CUBANS HAVE NO SUPPORTERS EXCEPT PERHAPS ALGERIA AND SOUTH YEMEN. QHADAFI IS UNPREDICTABLE, BUT HE IS PROBABLY AGAINST CUBAN INTERVENTION IN ERITREA. THE IRAQIS ARE "HARD". THEY HAVE TOLD THE CUBANS AND SOVIETS THAT IF THEY INTERVENE IN ERITREA THEY WILL HAVE TROUBLE WITH PROGRESSIVE ARAB STATES AS WELL AS CONSERVATIVE. THE AFRICAN STATES FEEL THAT A STATE HAS A RIGHT TO REQUEST FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO PRESERVE ITSELF. THIS IS WHY NO CONSENSUS COULD BE FOUND TO CONDEMN THE FRENCH IN WEST SAHARA. MANY NA'S FEEL THAT THE CUBANS ARE DOING FOR THEM WHAT THEY THEMSELVES WOULD NOT, OR COULD NOT DO. A FURTHER PROBLEM EXISTS IN CONDEMNING CUBA BUT NOT SAUDI ARABIA, SINCE ALL KNOW THAT THE SAUDIS ARE DEEPLY INVOLVED. THE NAM WORKS ON THE BASIS OF CONSENSUS BUT NO CONSENSUS EXISTS TO CONDEMN CUBA. WHEN IT COMES TO PUBLIC POSITIONS, EVEN ARABS SHOW RESTRAINT, BUT IF ERITREA COMES UP ON THE AGENDA NO ARAB COUNTRY WILL BE ABLE TO REMAIN SILENT. YUGOSLAVIA IS THE COUNTRY MOST CONCERNED WITH HOW THE PROBLEM WILL APPEAR IDEOLOGICALLY. THE USUAL FORMULAS OF NO "FOREIGN INTERVENTION", "OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE", "THE RIGHT TO DEVELOP FREELY", AND "TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY" MAY NOT SUFFICE. KOMATINA ADDED THAT HE WAS CONSIDERING, IF THERE IS TIME, LAUNCHING (NOT IN KABUL) THE IDEA OF "ZONES OF SECURITY", FREE OF ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTION.

8. WESTERN SAHARA - THERE ARE THREE BASIC APPROACHES:

(A) THOSE RECOGNIZING THE SAHARAN PEOPLES RIGHT TO SELF-DETERMINATION: (B) THOSE FEELING THAT THE PROBLEM IS CONFIDENTIAL

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SETTLED; AND (C) A SMALL GROUP WHO RECOGNIZE POLISARIO AS THE ONLY LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE PEOPLE OF WESTERN SAHARA. ENTIRE PROBLEM CAN ALSO BE TREATED AS ONE OF FOREIGN INTERVENTION BECAUSE OF THE FRENCH PRESENCE. GOY HAS NOT RECOGNIZED POLISARIO NOR THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT. IT REALLY DOES NOT CARE WHAT HAPPENS IF THE LEGALITIES ARE RESPECTED.

9. NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA- WESTERN FORTHCOMINGNESS HERE IS A POTENTIAL BRIGHT SPOT IN AN OTHERWISE GLOOMY PICTURE. THE PROSPECTS FOR RESOLUTION APPEAR PROMISING. AFRICAIS OBVIOUSLY PREPARED TO BE HELPFUL AND IS NEGOTIATION-MINDED. DURING MOJSOV'S VISIT FEW RESERVATIONS WERE EXPRESSED AGAINST THE WESTERN PLANS. EVEN ANGOLA WAS NOT OPPOSED AS SUCH, JUST DISTRUSTFUL. IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE IF THE US COULD BRIEF THE AFRICAN STATES ON THE STATUS OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS BEFORE THE NAM MEETINGS.

10. CANARY ISLANDS - AFRICAN COUNTRIES SUFFER FROM AN

OBSSESSION WITH COLONIALISM. THIS IS A DISAPPEARING  
PHENOMENON BUT THE AFRICANS ARE NOT YET OUT OF THEIR SMALL  
FRAMEWORK. CANARIES ARE A GOOD EXAMPLE OF THIS. VERY FEW  
AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARE REALLY FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE  
CANARIES BUT NOT ONE IS WILLING TO SAY THIS PUBLICLY.  
EAGLEBURGER

UNQUOTE VANCE

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